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U.S. PLANS TO SEEK ACTIONS BY ALLIES TO DETER QADDAFI

Hopes Concern About Libyan Will Result in Concerted International Pressure

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WASHINGTON, April 29 — The United States plans to consult with Britain and other allies, in the hope of converting the latest concern over Libyan activities into concerted international pressure on Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi, Reagan Administration officials said today.

Until Britain severed diplomatic ties with Libya last Sunday after the shooting of a British police constable in London by someone inside the Libyan Embassy, only the United States had taken any action against the Libyans.

The Administration expelled all Libyan diplomats in 1981, advised all American companies and personnel to quit Libya and barred the importation of Libyan oil. There have been no American diplomats in Libya since 1980, after the American Embassy there was burned down.

No Support for U.S. Moves

The American moves, however, received no support from allies, some of which, like Italy, Britain, and France, have considerable economic ties to Libya.

The public outrage in Britain over Libya has led some officials in Washington to say they hope the United States will be more successful this time in fashioning a coordinated program of trade, economic and political sanctions at the minimum, and some support of covert action against Colonel Qaddafi at the maximum, officials said.

A high-level review is taking place in Washington among officials on the motives behind Colonel Qaddafi's latest actions. This review, one official said, is important because of differing estimates on what is motivating the

Libyan leader, who has been long known for his desire to spread his revolutionary Islam to other countries and for his belief that the West is on the decline.

Some American experts believe, the officials said, that the latest incidents, including the recent diplomatic confrontation with Britain, may have stemmed from Colonel Qaddafi's feeling that he was riding a crest of successes.

Others, however, say they think Colonel Qaddafi may be acting from a sense of desperation brought on by increased internal and outside opposition to his rule.

There have been reports of explosions and assassination attempts directed against Colonel Qaddafi and some of his closest collaborators, including his cousins, one of whom, Said Qaddafi el-Dam, serves as his international trouble-shooter. One report said Mr. Qaddafi was seriously wounded by one assassination attempt. But a different intelligence report said it was another cousin who was hurt.

If in fact the opposition has taken on significant dimensions, there might be some opportunity for secretly helping the opponents of Colonel Qaddafi, one official said.

'On a Roll'

But a senior State Department official, who seemed to reflect the more predominant view in the Administration, said Colonel Qaddafi was "on a roll," enthused by the weakness shown by Western countries in such places as Lebanon and in their failure to do much about Libya's actions.

President Reagan and Secretary of State George P. Shultz have put Libya at the top of the list of "terrorist nations," and Mr. Shultz has reportedly told his staff, "We have to put Qaddafi in a box and close the lid."

Today, interviewed from Peking on the ABC News program "This Week," Mr. Shultz said he had no information that Colonel Qaddafi was in trouble at home. But he added, "If that's true, that's fine."

When Mr. Reagan and his top advisers return from China at the end of the week, discussions will be held on how best to approach the allies over Libya, as well as against the rising Administration concern over "state-directed terrorism," a State Department official said.

NATO Foreign Ministers to Meet

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization foreign ministers are due in Washington at the end of May for the regular spring meeting of the alliance. And Mr. Reagan and the leaders of Britain, France, Italy, Japan and West Germany are scheduled to meet in London in early June for the annual economic conference.

Both sessions will provide an opportunity, officials said, for confidential discussions on the matter. There have already been talks among intelligence and security officials on the terrorist threat, particularly in light of the Summer Olympics in Los Angeles in July and August.

One senior State Department official, however, was skeptical and cautioned against expecting any quick action by the allies, who have been reluctant to move against Libya, even when Libyan agents committed assassinations in their countries.

"We are facing a new chapter, and it is too early to say what can and will be done," the official said. "But the past shows that it is hard to translate outrage into specific actions. The Italians, for instance, have 20,000 workers in Libya. Do you think they want to pull them out? The British have 8,000. Even with the London mess, don't look for them to leave either."

Another department official said, "The West Europeans on the whole are a bunch of chickens when it comes to Libya, and don't think Qaddafi doesn't know it." He noted some European countries had released known assassins out of concern for the welfare of their own people in Libya, but then did nothing to close down relations with Libya.

U.S. Expelled Libyans in 1981

The United States expelled all Libyan diplomats in 1981, nearly a year after all American diplomats had left Libya. The United States has also barred the importation of Libyan oil, restricted the flow of technology to Libya and ordered all Americans to leave Libya.

The official who argued that Colonel Qaddafi was "on a roll" said the Libyan leader was "getting away literally with murder in country after country, laughing at the British for breaking diplomatic relations, which he does not find important anyway, bombing Sudan, without paying a price, keeping the French tied down in Chad, and seeing the Americans forced out of Lebanon by the success of terrorism."

This view was disputed by other officials, and some outside experts, with ties to the Libyan exiles abroad, who said there had been an increase in assassination attempts against Colonel Qaddafi in recent months, with signs that he has had to crack down again against dissident students, intellectuals, military officers and religious leaders.

In one explosion, one of Colonel Qaddafi's closest relatives was injured, the official said. "I think he is bugged by all this," the official said. "He does not like any opposition, abroad or at home. And he is very primitive about killing and torturing those he does not like. He likes it less when there are explosions close to him."

G. Henry M. Schuler of Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies, a longtime spe-

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cialist on Libya and Middle East oil, said, "My understanding is that he is acting out of increasing desperation."

Oil Revenues Have Dropped

Mr. Schuler said in an interview Thursday that he believed there was no alternative but for Britain and other Western nations to follow Washington's suit and impose economic sanctions against Libya. Otherwise, he argued, the only choice left eventually would be armed intervention.

He said Libya's revenues from oil exports had dropped from \$22 billion in 1980 to \$10 billion last year. He said this was due to the oil surpluses but also because of the loss of the American market since March 1982.

Colonel Qaddafi has fascinated American intelligence officials since he seized power in 1969. According to authoritative published accounts, the Central Intelligence Agency in the first years of Qaddafi rule saw him as an eccentric anti-Communist Moslem fundamentalist who could be counted on to curb Soviet inroads into the area. In this period, the C.I.A. reportedly provided him with information that allowed him to block coup attempts.

But American relations with Colonel Qaddafi began to worsen after Libya began to oppose the willingness of President Anwar el-Sadat of Egypt to enter into negotiated accords with Israel starting in 1974. That led to armed clashes with Egypt, and the start of large-scale internal crackdowns inside Libya.

In 1973, students demonstrated against Colonel Qaddafi in Benghazi, and this led to the first public hangings of dissident students. There have been reports periodically of similar executions, including two last month, which are believed to have been responsible, at least in part, for the demonstrations at the Libyan Embassy in London last week by Libyan exiles that led to the killing of a British police constable.

Message Was Intercepted

American officials said French intelligence had intercepted a message from Libya ordering the embassy to use force against the demonstration, but the message was not decoded and conveyed to the British before the event.

Harold H. Saunders, Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs in the Carter Administration, said a Libyan assassination team was being readied to go to Egypt to kill the American Ambassador, but was "headed off" when American intelligence learned of it. Other sources said this took place in 1977, when Hermann F. Eilts was Ambassador.

President Carter sent a letter to Colonel Qaddafi telling him that the United States knew of it, and the team was never sent to Egypt, according to John K. Cooley, in his book "Libyan Sandstorm." The Libyans also supported anti-Sadat groups in Egypt, although

they were not directly responsible for his assassination in October 1981.

American grievances against Libya include concern about assassinations as well as Libyan support for subversive groups in other countries. Not only has Libya intervened in other African countries, most prominently Chad where it has 5,000 troops occupying the northern half of the country, but it has sent old American arms to Nicaragua, presumably for use by Salvadoran guerrillas, American officials have said. Last year, Libyan planes that landed in Brazil were found to be carrying military supplies for Nicaragua instead of the medical and other civilian supplies on the manifest. The goods were shipped back to Libya.

When asked about the differing estimates of Colonel Qaddafi's motivation, a veteran State Department official said, "It's probably not so simple as saying he's either lashing out in desperation or doing it because he feels good."

'Mercurial Personality'

"This is a real mercurial personality," he said. "He has had a bunch of successes lately but he probably also harbors the suspicion that sooner or later his enemies are going to get back at him. And that probably increases his own sense of tension."

But the official said that Colonel Qaddafi had been able to cope with dissidents in the past by "killing them" and that "so long as he is not afraid to use brute force" he could probably remain in power. "He has intimidated everyone," the official said.

The United States, particularly the Reagan Administration, has viewed the confrontation with Libya as a major test of wills, but has been frustrated by the lack of support from its allies in this contest. For instance, officials Thursday said with some exasperation that although France was involved in trying to keep Chad from being overrun, Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson of France was still trying to conclude a deal with Libya that would give Libya a major political voice in running Chad.

There were reports in 1981 that the C.I.A. had drafted a plan for overthrowing Colonel Qaddafi that was dropped after being opposed by the House intelligence committee. It could not be learned if any plans were being considered now for such actions.

Mr. Shultz said last week that the Libyans were "the troublemakers in the world, and we should all wake up to that fact."

"We have been saying that in the United States for quite some time," he said, "and I think this is just one more exhibition of the fact that that's true."